SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Current Topics Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

SOME WORDS WITH DR. CHAPIN.

From the N. Y. World. The Reverend Dr. Chapin is one of the best known, in the sense of being most widely known, of our spiritual pastors and masters, On Sunday he bade his flock to behave themselves for the few months for which they would be derived of his guidance, philosophy, and friendship, shut up his church, pocketed the key, and has doubtless by new attained the fresh fields and pastures now of his yearly the fresh helds and pasteres now of his yearly vacation. But no solitude is inaccessible to the World, and now we send after Doctor Chapin a few words for his painful meditation before he returns to the care of his wan-

Doctor Chapin had the distinction of being one of two clergymen, and we believe the one professedly Christian clergyman, who went to the reception given to Daniel E. Sickles. The reporters told us that he shook hands with Sickles, that he are and drank with Sickles, and otherwise publicly proclaimed his willingness to be accepted as the equal and friend of a person whom we are almost tired of charac-terizing, but whom truth and such people as Doctor Chapin compel us to continue charac-terizing, as a thief, a pander, and a murderer.

If Doctor Chapin, in his private character, chooses to consort with Sickles, in his private character, which the World has done its best to make public, we could make no objection, provided he did it with such precautions of secrecy as would save the shocking of the public sense of decency. But he has taken Sickles to his arms in the most public, shameless, and disgusting way, and has taken him, not as to the arms of the individual Chapin. but as to the arms of a minister of the Gospel The sole significance of Doctor Chapin's attendance at the Sickles reception was that it sought to degrade religion into the procuress of a procurer, and give the sanctions of Christianity to the apotheosis of a thiefe

That a layman, debauched by political interest, or hurried away by political excitement, should be willing to condone private baseness in consideration of political perfidy, is a lamentable, but still, in some ways, an accountable thing. We cannot believe that even a layman who objects very seriously to breakages of the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments can bring himself to pay public honor to a man whose chief notoriety has been won by murder, adultery, and theft. But although such a layman must be influenced either by sympathy with the object of his "respect, esteem, and friendship," or by fear of him, and must be, therefore, either a scoundrel or a coward, his offense is venial indeed compared to that of a clergyman who does the same thing. That in the secular is but a dirty action which in the sacred is flat blasphemy. It is the business of the clergyman to point out, by precept and by example, the difference be-tween good and evil, as displayed in actions and as incarnated in men. As it is his duty to recognize and honor virtue, it is his correlative duty to denounce and abhor vice. He makes no war upon flesh and blood, but upon principalities, upon powers, upon spiritual wickedness in high places. What kind of fight can a teacher of morals make who comes to enforce their duties to his flock with lips which have just bandied compliments with the incarnate quintessence of spiritual wickedness in high places, and with fingers which have been polluted by the embrace of a felon. Obviously, the words of such a man are worthless. He cannot hate vice after he has endured, pitied, and embraced it. He cannot denounce any sort of crime, with any chance of being listened to, after he has joined in doing honor to a wretch who is black with every sort of crime.

Doctor Chapin, we believe, has, to his own satisfaction, abolished hell. His substitute for it is the penalty which he conceives a sinner pays in this life for his sins. He ought at least, if there is to be no future compensation for the inequalities of this life, to do his part towards making the burden of a saint light and the yoke of a sinner heavy. We never heard of him getting up "receptions" to struggling virtue. We have seen him doing honor to prosperous vice. It is now a piece of brazen impudence in him to pretend to speak, as one having authority, concerning the conduct of any man or any set of

THE VIRGINIA ELECTION-NOT YET OUT OF THE WOODS.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The results of the late Virginia election are so very extraordinary as to create the suspicion of a bold political game not yet disclosed. The successful conservative candidate for Governor, G. C. Walker, is a Northern man, and was put in the field by the moderate Republicans against Wells, the ultra radical, test oath, and Rebel disfranchising candidate. Otherwise the two men and the two parties occupied substantially the same ground-for the constitution, adopted by a radical State convention; for negro political equality, including several negro conserva-tives elected to the Legislature, and for the fifteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution establishing universal negro suffrage, with the power to Congress to enforce it in every State.

Now the question arises, have these negro equality doctrines, these radical changes from the Democratic creed of negro inferiority and subordination, been honestly accepted by the Virginia Democracy in their support of the Walker ticket and the moderate Republican faction in this Virginia election? If so, the conversion of these Virginia Democrats to the new dispensation is only second as a miracle to the miraculous conversion of St. Paul on his way to Damascus. The Virginia Demo-cratic politicians are of the old Southern State sovereignty school, and to the last gasp were thoroughly devoted to the late Southern Confederacy. From the declaration of their leaders, they accepted the Walker ticket and the Walker platform in this late canvass as a choice of evils. The great concessions to the negroes involved were accepted in order to carry the election and to secure possession of

the State. Now having, by this masterly flank move-ment, secured the Governor and the Legisla-ture, with two-thirds of the State delegation to the lower house of Congress, the next step in the programme became exceedingly impor-tant and somewhat doubtful withal. As far as we know, a majority of the Legislature thus elected is made up of the old dyed-inthe-wool, inflexible anti-negro Democratic elements of the State. Will they ratify the fif-teenth amendment? Will they proclaim the ratification of the new State Constitution? Will they admit or reject the negro conserva-tives elected to the new Legislature? If they do all these things in behalf of the equal rights of the black rase, they will inaugurate this new dispensation of negro political equality as the future programme of the De-

Virginia lead the way, and the Southern Democratic party, which on the negro question was the Southern Rebellion, will follow Virginia lead the way, and the Southern Democratic party, which on the negro question Presidency! The St. Paul Pioneer says that, was the Southern Rebellion, will follow Virginia lead the way, and the Southern Democratic party, which on the negro question is the stepping stone to the next property of the stepping stone to the next property of the stepping stone to the next property. ginia in all the other Southern States; and then the Northern Democracy, to recover the Southern balance of power, will be compelled

to go the same way.

We have something of a leaning in this direction in the nomination of General Rose-crans as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio, although the Ohio Democracy swear they will never consent to this fifteenth negro amendment, never. They are far behind the Virginia Democracy, then, unless the Virginians may be considered as playing a double game. If they could fight off this new State constitution by legislative strategy till 1870, when a new Congress is to be elected, they might hope, with the new Congress, for a great change to their advantage in that department of the General Government. Now the Virginians may do this. They have only to make their work distasteful to Congress in order to have it rejected, and thus they may go on till 1870 in the hope that then there may be a Democratic majority in Congress which will make everything right. It is only upon such theory that we can account for the astonishing concessions of negro equality by the Virginia Democrats in their late election. Upon its face they have gained a great vic-tory, but what it means has still to be revealed. There is a mystery about it, and we fear there is mischief in it to all concerned.

THE EMPEROR'S NEW PROGRAMME. From the N. Y. World.

The Emperor Napoleon's promised reforms have come in the shape of a message which is itself a reform, yet which may very well defeat altogether the reforms it proposes. If this sentence has a slightly enigmatical sound, that is no fault of ours. Enigmas are the delight of the imperial mind, and they may

fitly be used in describing its work. But our enigma is only in appearance an enigma. Instead of establishing by an imperial decree a new order of things in the relations between the ministry of the French crown and the representatives of the French people, the Emperor has thrown upon the latter the responsibility of establishing that new order themselves. He recently caused M. Rouher to submit to the Legislative Body a programme which, if it be adopted by that hody, will practically amount to making the ministerial tenure of office dependent in France, as it is in England—though clearly not to the same extent as in England-upon the will of the Legislative Body. Whether the actual majority of the French Legislative Body will be favorably inclined to such a magnifying of their functions, and, with their functions, of their responsibility, may, however, be doubted. It is a general rule of history that legislative bodies are disposed to enlarge their own power. But it is one of the general rules which are illustrated by notable exceptions; and no one can have carefully considered the actual state of things in France, it seems to us, without convincing himself that the French Legislature of the day may very well prove to be one of these same exceptions. A very large proportion of the members of the working majority in that body are men who have avowedly little faith in parliamentary government. Many of them are well aware that, in such a revival of real political life in France as must follow the delivering over of questions of the public finance to free discussion and to effective decision by the Legislative Body, their own chances of retaining their places in public life would be small indeed. Some of them probably will doubt the sincerity of the Emperor's desire for the adoption of this new system, and, on that account, will oppose it; while others, and, we suspect, a still larger number, will do the same thing for precisely the opposite reason, and because they fear to see the Emperor commit himself frankly to a genuine and pro-

gressive liberal policy.

The fact that this new programme is laid before the Legislature and the empire by M. Rouher, and that no changes have yet taken place in the French Cabinet, pretty plainly indicates that the Minister of State, at least, by no means regards its adoption as a foregone conclusion. It is not easy to believe that M. Rouher can be seriously expected by the Emperor, even if he were for his own part disposed, to carry on the Government of France under conditions such as would be made for him by the establishment of a genuine ministerial responsibility.

The presentation of the programme, however, and the discussions to which it must lead, both in the Legislature and in the press will undoubtedly evoke the true political feelings and wishes of the French people as they have not for years been evoked. This, at least, should be a real and an unmixed good, if any good in human affairs ever can be unmixed; and the 12th of July, 1869, bids fair to be chronicled in the French history of our times as one of its most significant, interesting and decisive days.

GENERAL HANCOCK AND HIS "EXILE. From the N. Y. Times.

Not long ago, when, upon the reduction and reorganization of the army, new assignments were made in commands, the Democratic papers raised a great outery that General Hancock had been "exiled" by the new administration; and, accordingly, we were all called upon to indulge our indignation against a 'petty malignity,' as it was called, which, fearing future rivalry, had 'induced President Grant to banish his subordinate to a distant region, far from the natural reach or political preferment." We were all accordingly heating up our indignation, as per request, when, just short of the boiling point, it occurred to ns to inquire "to what region" was General Hancock thus "malignantly exiled" — for "exile" was the word. Was it altogether out of the country, or was his but a metaphorical "exile" to some point within the country; and, in the latter case, was it to Alaska, or to Arizona, or to the Dry Tortugas? To none of these, as it soon appeared. Our sympathy had been demanded for Hancock, and our execration for the "malignant" Grant, because the former was sent to-St. Paul,

Yes, that is the place, the desolate, unhealthy, uninhabited region, whereto this unfortunate officer was "banished" by a "jealous administration." But their cruelty and machinations were, it seems, unavailing, for, so far from his being "out of reach of political preferment," the Pennsylvania politicians are all after Hancock to nominate him as Governor of Pennsylvania. Upon the whole, therefore, we are not moved to much indignation by the supposed obscurity and hopelessness of the banishment to Min-

And the joke of the thing is that General Hancock is said to be reluctant to accept the nomination. The exile of St. Paul absolutely clings to his "exile," and finds banishment to be a pretty good thing. He not only does not feel indignant, does not be-moan his lot as the World did, but actually, if equality as the future programme of the Democratic party, beginning with Virginia. Let Governor of the great State of Pennsylvania,

eral's staff, it has been led to believe that he will decline the proposed nomination if offered. Not that he doubts the chance of his election, or would hesitate to "make the sacrifice asked of him," but that thinks other candidates plenty, while he can be "left to the great duties of his profession and his present place." So says the Pioneer; whereupon we inquire of ourselves what sort of an 'exile" and an "oblivion" can that be whose duties are not only very important, but so agree able that to exchange them for those of Gov ernor of Pennsylvania would be a "sacrifice? We are forced to conclude that, despite the late Democratic lamentations over General Hancock's untimely fate, he can manage, with his fine physique and robust health and comfortable Major-General's, income to sup-port even the exile to St. Paul, considering that the climate there is the most equable and delicious in the country, the society good all the year round, and "banishment" something like being sent off from Harrisburg to Saratoga.

LORDS AND COMMONS-THE THREAT. ENED CONFLICT. From the N. Y. Times.

Neither the Gladstone Cabinet nor the people of England has lost any time in making a firm stand against the attempt of the Lords to override the reiterated verdict of the Honse of Commons with regard to the disendowment of the Irish Church. A special Cabinet Council has been held, in order to determine upon the line of action to be taken, and it was finally decided that the

more important amendments made in the bill should be strenuously opposed in the House of Commons. According to the ordinary course of procedure in such cases, the bill will be returned to the lower house for consideration of the Lords' amendments, and divisions will be taken-probably without much debate-as to whether that house will accept them or insist upon retaining the original clauses in their integrity. There can be little doubt as to the result, now that the Ministerial policy has been decided upon. Lords Clarendon, Granville, and Hartington, representatives of the old aristocratic Whig element in the Cabinet, are said to have counselled a compromise, but they were overruled by the majority. They could undoubtedly influence, if so minded, a large section of the Liberal party, but they are pretty certain to acquiesce in the policy resolved upon by their colleagues rather than endanger a schism in their party, more especially as men like the High Church Lord Hatherly and the powerful Duke of Argyil are on the side of the Commons, as well as Mr. Gladstone and the radical John Bright. The proposal to retain the original disendowment clauses will be supported by the whole strength of the Ministerialists, and he will be a bold peer who dares to move that the upper

There will be a conflict, beyond a question, but we do not anticipate that it will either be prolonged or serious. The peers cannot yield without making a show of resistance, but if the Commons act with firmness, and yet without any unnecessary violence, they will have the opportunity of yielding grace fully and without in any way compromising their dignity. They possibly may nominally insist on their amendments in order to bring about a conference between the two houses, in which they can abandon their position according to formal constitutional etiquette; but that will be all. There is no real occasion for popular agitation. Every successive triumph of popular principles in the House of Commons, aristocratic as its composition still is, tends at once to increase the solid power of the chamber, and consequently to moderate the popular feeling against the upper house. The Lords must yield if the Commons are firm, and although there may be some little outdoor elamor, both the Commons and the Liberal party at large are now too well assured of their power, and an easy triumph for their measures, to care about unnecessarily humiliating them if they only have the wisdom to yield with a good grace.

house should insist on its amendments,

THE SENGERFEST.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The festival of German singing societies which is making Baltimore merry and melodious gives an excellent illustration of the capacity of our adopted fellow-citizens for innocent enjoyment, and we should be glad if native-born Americans could take a little inspiration from it. Here are some thousands of people from all the North-eastern, or rather the Middle States, who make of the periodical contests of proficiency between rival chorus societies, festivals hardly less joyous and hardly less important than the old tournaments of the Jongleurs and Minnesingers. For a week they cast aside the cares of business and the worry of money-getting, and give themselves up to such simple pleasures as the chanting of fine songs, the parading of gay processions, and the cultivation of social intercourse. Perhaps the beer-cup foams too often; but it is characteristic of the German pleasure-seeker that he rarely goes for a day's 'outing" unaccompanied by his wife and children, and so the wildest of junketings are more or less restrained by domestic influences. At any rate, where music is the staple of the feast, decorum cannot be altogether forgotten.

We are always glad to welcome! those periodical gatherings; and wish there were more of them. The recent experiment in Boston, there is some reason to hope, may result in the development among Americans of a better talent for having a good time than they have ever before displayed, and enable us to wit-ness singing festivals which shall be really national in their character, and unite all our people in a general celebration. In Boston perhaps, such occasions are rather too solemn; but that is a fault which we can easily correct. Already the good seed which the jubilee and the Germans have both sown seems to be taking root. Boston purposes to perpetuate the grand chorus by uniting it in a great permanent national organization which may serve as the parent of regular monthly, annual, and centennial jubilees all over the western hemisphere. The New York Philharmonic Society promises to have a grand celebration of some kind in this city next year. Both plans are good, and both promise success. In them we see the prospect of a better appreciation of the great duty of giving up a few days now and then to rational enoyment, and the great importance of play as preparation for work.

FUTURE PARTY ASCENDANCY—THE NEGRO ELEMENT AND THE VIRGI-NIA ELECTION.

From the N. Y. Sun. The negro voters of Virginia, by dividing their suffrages between the Republican and Democratic parties, have shown an independence and sagacity which voters of all colors everywhere would do well to emulate. There is no sound or fundamental reason either in

politics or philosophy why negroes more than whites should all belong to one party. Men's political affinities arise from causes which lie deeper than the color of their skins. The structure of one's cranium, his mental characteristics, his early education, the strength of his prejudices, the society he keeps, and, quite as much as either and perhaps all of these, his real or supposed interests, have far more to do with determining the political party with which he shall identify his fortunes, than any mere accidental or adventitious circumstance like the hue of the complexion or the texture of the hair.

Other things being equal, then, it would be quite unnatural and contrary to precedent for the entire mass of negroes recently admitted to the ballot-box in the South, and that comparatively insignificant number who will soon have access to it in the North under the operation of the fifteenth amendment, to join the Republican party. Moreover, this would be not only unnatural and unprecedented, but it would be to the last degree unwise and inexpedient for them to so act as to make their firm and indisputable retention of the right of suffrage to depend upon the permanent ascendancy of either of the great parties of the country. The conduct of an in-fluential portion of the Virginia negroes in the recent election shows that they clearly comprehend the force of these vital truths.

But negroes are men; and it depends quite as much upon the Democratic party as upon the enfranchised negroes themselves whether the former shall hereafter and throughout the entire Union win to their standard so much of the colored vote as to enable the Democracy and their white allies to carry all the Southern States in the great contests before them as triumphantly as they have just carried Virginia, and thereby overthrow the Republican ascendancy in 1872. The result in Virginia has placed the Democracy on trial. They can so act as to repel the whole negro vote, or they can retain a fair share of it. This humble class of citizens are not burdened with an amplitude of book-learning, but they are endowed with a keenness of instinct that enables them to discover their friends with unerring certainty. For the peace of the country it is to be hoped that they will find it for their interest to divide their suffrages between the two great parties.

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